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## Polish economic discontent implies political disapproval

STUTTGARTER  
ZEITUNG

More than a fortnight ago Chancellor Willy Brandt signed the Bonn-Warsaw Treaty in the Polish capital. Poland is hitting the headlines.

At a time however the news is not of Polish foreign policies but of a serious crisis in the People's Republic of Poland.

Dozens of several Polish towns had led to the swinging increases in food prices with open rebellion and violence leading arson and plunder.

The State defended itself with its most modern means and made use of its arms. Many were killed or wounded.

Who attributes the crisis to economic problems is right and wrong at the same time. It is right because an increase in food prices is an economic problem. It is wrong because a very good advertisement for the success of the Communist economic system in that an agricultural country like

only to their government but also to the Communist system in general.

Because of the absolute rule of Communist governments and their resulting absolute responsibility for all sectors of life, they are in greater need of the safety valve of criticism and channels to correct their policies than democratic governments whose range of activity is far more restricted.

The fatal error in the structure of Communist governments is that their absolute power is coupled with an almost complete suppression of all criticism. There is hardly a legal way to express discontent at the government's individual decisions even.

Grievances therefore mount, giving rise to a situation where there has to be an explosion. This explosive criticism linked with violence is the only possible way that a person who is not in a position of authority can express his criticism under Communism.

Unlike people living in a democracy, Poles cannot express discontent non-violently, though effectively, by voting for another party at the next election.

The many other possibilities that persons in democratic countries have to express their opinions in public are barred to people in a Communist state. They cannot risk more than an impotent whispering campaign.

The events in Poland are a typical example of explosive criticism. It appears that, unlike for example the Hungarian uprising of 1956, feelings have not yet reached a pitch where there is a general rejection of the Communist system.

At present criticisms are directed against



Sports awards for 1970

Hans Fasnacht was elected Sportsman of the Year by over 500 sports writers in this country. Swimmer Fasnacht was unable to attend the awarding ceremony in Baden-Baden because he was detained in Long Beach, U.S.A. Sportswoman of the Year was light athletics star Heide Rosendahl (right). Ingrid Mickler-Becker came second. Popular footballer Uwe Seeler (centre) was chosen second in the men's list.

(Photo: Horstmann)

the price increases ordered by the government, though reports are still sketchy.

But in Szczecin there were more radical objections against the regime. On a tank used to suppress demonstrations in the town demonstrators had chalked "We want freedom of opinion."

But apart from slogans of this type, it will always be difficult to judge for certain the extent to which the general pent-up feelings against the regime influenced a demonstration against one particular measure.

The Polish unrest also raises other questions that have not yet been explained. Why does it seem to have been restricted to the coast and the ports? Why is there no news of unlawful assembly or plunder in Warsaw or the industrial area of Upper Silesia around Katowice where workers suffered just as much from the increase in food prices? Can this be attributed to the fact that the ports are traditionally assembly points for rebellious elements?

When explaining the unrest, the Polish government took refuge in helpless sounding phrases such as the claim that bandits and criminal elements misused the originally peaceful demonstrations to their own dark ends.

It is possible that the underworld shared in the plundering but this is not sufficient to explain the whole movement of revolt.

What is more, the authorities responded to the population's violent criticism with violent suppression. As the government has more effective weapons in its clash with the population, the final outcome can be forecast with a fair degree of certainty. An outward state of calm will probably be restored. Speculation about a basic change is therefore certain to be wide of the mark.

Here and there reaction in this country to the events in Poland were mingled with a certain amount of pleasure that Willy Brandt's new treaty partner had suffered a sensitive attack of weakness. You see what sort of people the mini-coalition government is dealing with, people cowed.

But people thinking along these lines have missed the point of the Bonn-Warsaw Treaty. It is meant to bring reconciliation between the two peoples, an aim far surpassing the domestic situation of the two partners.

Fritz von Globing  
(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG,  
19 December 1970)

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equately equipping police not been done fast enough

is obviously not able to provide its nation with cheap food.

wrong because there are no sectors of the Communist State that are not affected by politics in some way. Communist States are not described as totalitarian regimes for nothing.

In western States the government bears indirect responsibility for what happens in the economic sphere, for this is an important field of action for Communist governments.

In this extent, economic issues there are above all political grievances. They have an extremely direct influence on the population's attitude not

## Gierek replaces Gomulka after Polish troubles

Afflicted by Stalinism ever since the end of the Second World War, the Polish people helped Wladyslaw Gomulka on his path to power in 1956 and hailed him as liberator when he was proclaimed the leader of the People's Republic of Poland.

Now a People deeply disappointed equally by Communism and Gomulka look on unmoved as their former idol departs the political stage with magic long gone.

The departure of Gomulka and his three closest colleagues (not including Jaszczuk) underlines the negative balance of a policy that recently led a state of near civil war.

It is however to Gomulka's credit that he resigned after meeting political failure, thus saving his people and the world from the tragedy of a bloody struggle for power.

Gomulka survived his greatest triumph in foreign policy, the Federal Republic's recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as the western frontier of Poland, by only a few days.

Gomulka's economic policy brought about his fall. Walter Ulbricht has long accused it of being ideologically illogical. This was because Poland is the only communist country not to have collectivised agriculture.

The country ran relatively efficiently to long as high yields could be announced. But two bad harvests threw the economic structure into confusion. Gomulka had to apply the emergency brake and increase prices for the food items that were now in short supply.

Gomulka's successor, Edward Gierek, is thought of as an energetic man. Gierek worked for many years of his life as a Communist in Western Europe.

Since returning to Poland, he has made Silesia and Upper Silesia into model provinces. The largest harvests were gathered here and the best results in industrial production recorded. It is not yet known whether the Kremlin can consider Gierek to be its man in Warsaw.

(DIE WELT, 21 December 1970)

# DIE ZEIT

In theory they are all entitled to apply for exit permits now that the Polish

Cautious hints by this country that

### Red Cross delegations

Carl-Christian Kaiser  
(DIE ZEIT, 18 December 1970)

During the year of reform he opposed radical plans for economic decentralisation as advocated by Ota Sik, the theoretician of a socialist market economy.

But far more students are sent down from university than under Norovny. Government officials and journalists who supported the reforms are given the sack. "The revolution is consuming its own children again," Director of Public Prosecutions Hubl, who recently resigned, comments.

**Süddeutsche Zeitung**

ctrine since Moscow denies  
anything exists. It may not be  
claimed as such but it is  
practised.  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 Dec.)

## Published balance sheets reveal secrets of party affairs

Civil service salaries are a tangled web, a labyrinth in which only experts can

**Klaus Rudolf Dreher**  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 December 1970)

individual against threats imposed by today's collective powers in the State and in society and to give every individual the opportunity to develop his own personality. The freedom of one individual should only be limited when it endangers

**Klaus Rudolf Dreher**  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15. Dezember 1970)

proposals in the cabinet room. Finance Minister Alex Möller said No.

When teachers in elementary schools are given a position higher up the ladder high-school masters became worried that they would no longer be specially rewarded for their longer study period.

The tactics of party politics have made all the more difficult to come to a decisive conclusion, but this is just a short extract in the Bongo after

Wolfgang Höpker  
(CHRIST UND WELT, 18 December)

## The German Trial

440 West 21st Street  
New York, N.Y. 10011

All articles which THE GERMAN  
reprints are published in cooperation  
editorial staffs of leading newspapers  
Federal Republic of Germany. The  
late translations of the original

any correspondence please give the  
right number, which appears on the  
in the right of your address.

should we forget the former minister of the Interior, Paul Lücke, who had 67,750 Marks to the funds of his party, the CDU, in 1962.

The reform does not provide for a graded plan in easy stages, but intends to make a clean sweep. In this game of chess the Opposition has made a clever move

## Civil servants ask for salary anomalies to be eradicated

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to turn greedy eyes, since they felt that this was discrimination against them...

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Wolfgang Höpker  
(CHRIST UND WELT, 18 December)

## MEDIA

## Deutschlandfunk broadcast 642,345 minutes last year

The youngest broadcasting station in the Federal Republic is also one of the smallest, but it broadcasts to listeners not only of events in all the Federal states but reaches into the "all-German reality", giving a "comprehensive picture of Germany" according to its senior officials.

Its broadcasts can be heard throughout Europe and the audience it aims at is Germans living outside the Federal Republic.

Deutschlandfunk (DLF) was called into existence by a law passed in 1960, as was Deutsche Welle for overseas broadcasts. It first started broadcasting on 1 January 1962, employs about 600 people and is currently based in one-time private houses and rented new buildings in Marienburg, an affluent suburb in the south of Cologne.

Its transmits German-language programmes day and night without break on five wavelengths and a further six and a quarter hours a day in fourteen European languages.

The Post Office is continually extending the network of transmitters but it is not sufficient to carry out political functions. In the German Democratic Republic for example Deutschlandfunk has long been viewed as an important Western contribution to everyday life.

Statistics show that the station broadcast for 642,345 minutes last year, including 116,745 minutes of foreign-language broadcasts.

The aims are not only far-reaching as regards area. The content too differs from that of the normal home stations. DLF does not aim at minorities at home and does not provide children's, women's or schools' broadcasts. The two Federal stations Deutschlandfunk and Deutsche Welle are not included in current proposals for correspondence courses on the air.

While the home stations have the twin function of catering for the needs of all minorities if possible and giving priority to the educational prerequisites and demands for entertainment by the mass of the population, Deutschlandfunk only takes account of what is important in providing a comprehensive picture of Germany.

This principle demands a high degree of quality, political responsibility and objectivity. This is what gives DLF its particular attraction, despite the lack of its own drama department or orchestra.

Another attraction is the hourly news service (altogether there are 29 news broadcasts on a weekday) followed by reports of breakdowns and conditions on trunk roads.

There is admittedly occasional criticism of the sterility and strictness that creeps into the programme. Within the station itself there is a tendency to adapt various features of its quickly-gained individual style to the demands of contemporary taste.

Reports and commentaries should be easy to understand and include live interviews, though always taking into account the poor concentration of modern man.

The switch of priorities in cultural affairs policy abroad after the change of government here in 1969 is also reflected in the programmes transmitted by DLF.

As the culture department of the Foreign Office has decided to invite more foreign groups to the Federal Republic instead of organising so many representative events abroad, a broadcasting station will always find it difficult to provide inside information for people of other nationalities in a comprehensible form.

But DLF does try to "inform all

neighbouring peoples continually about its problems, its state of affairs and its aims" in a programme for Europe containing newscasts, commentaries, a look at the press, interviews and reports from all spheres of political economic and cultural life.

The foreign language editorial staffs — teams composed of both German-speakers and people from the country concerned — always adapt to the interests and mentality of their listeners.

Since the autumn of 1969 DLF has also been transmitting language courses. Once a week the station broadcasts a fifteen-minute lesson drawn up by the Goethe Institute for each linguistic region.

An obvious question is whether the Brandt government's Ostpolitik has changed the all-German intentions of Deutschlandfunk.

Franz Thedieck, the former State Secretary in the Ministry for All-German Affairs who took over from the station's original director, Dr Starke, in August 1966, has stated that this is not the case.

An East-West editorial staff has been in existence for one year to counteract the idea that the bridge with the other part of Germany is one-way. As much information as possible is collected from the other side through newspapers or magazines for instance.

An exchange of tapes or manuscripts is not possible as long as this material is used only to slander the Federal Republic.

The balance of its news programmes has sometimes given rise to the suspicion that DLF was a government station and, on the other hand, made it the target for the attacks of the governing party as it also transmitted programmes that were unwelcome to it.

Three dangers could threaten DLF in a time of political unrest:

1) A political imbalance in the composition of the controlling boards, the Broadcasting Council and the Administrative Council. The Broadcasting Council consists of 22 members, six appointed by

the Bundestag, six by the Bundesrat, five by the government and one each by the Protestant Church, the Catholic Church, the Central Council of Jews and the Federal Alliance of Employers Associations and Trades Unions. The Administrative Council consists of seven members, elected by the Broadcasting Council. All posts are for a four-year period.

2) An active personnel policy by political parties. The DLF would also be affected by a move of this type.

3) The temptation of its staff to use the medium to intervene actively in political events with their own opinions, likes or dislikes, as Director Thedieck put it.

Because of the increasing polarisation of political opinions, this temptation has become greater. An analysis of the motives of the staff in broadcasting stations, especially the younger members of an editorial staff, would be rewarding.

They often come to a broadcasting station without any journalistic training and without any prospect of getting any, are fascinated by the technology but disappointed by the administrative hierarchy, minor aspects of their work and the fact that organisation and administration is more their function than creative work.

Large sections of the population are still rather in the dark about the importance and the functions of the Federal Republic's supreme courts. The fact that both the Federal Constitutional Court and the Federal Court of Justice are based in Karlsruhe has often caused further confusion.

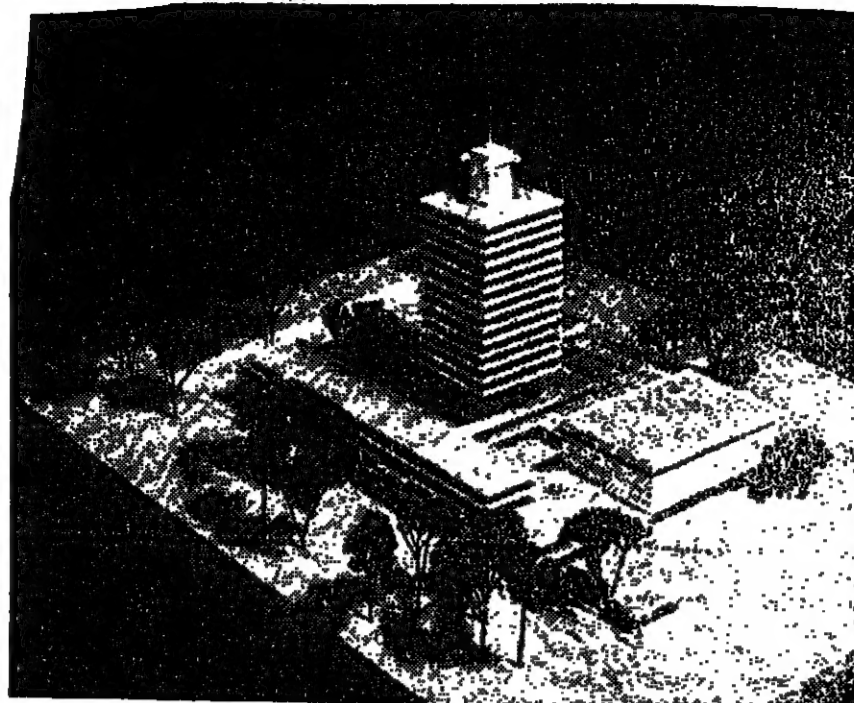
The Federal Constitutional Court defends the constitution, Basic Law. It is the highest court in this country and independent of all other constitutional organs such as the Bundestag, the President and the government. It consists of two chambers, each with eight judges.

The Federal Constitutional Court rules on all disputes between the central government and the Federal states and between private persons and the authorities, arising from Basic Law.

It also examines whether laws passed by the central government and Federal states are compatible with Basic Law, whether parties are democratically constituted or acting against Basic Law and whether they have to be banned.

Individuals can appeal to the Federal Constitutional Court for protection against arbitrary action by the authorities.

Anyone who believes that his basic constitutional rights are being violated can make a constitutional complaint when all other legal opportunities such as



A model of the new Deutschlandfunk station to be opened in Cologne, designed by Professor Gerhard Weber (Photo: Archiv Handelt)

the Bundestag, six by the Bundesrat, five by the government and one each by the Protestant Church, the Catholic Church, the Central Council of Jews and the Federal Alliance of Employers Associations and Trades Unions. The Administrative Council consists of seven members, elected by the Broadcasting Council. All posts are for a four-year period.

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Anyone who believes that his basic constitutional rights are being violated can make a constitutional complaint when all other legal opportunities such as

the regular courts are exhausted. The verdicts of the Federal Constitutional Courts have the force of law.

There are sixteen constitutional judges. The Bundestag and the Bundesrat each appoint eight of the judges — they are not appointed via the normal channels of promotion.

The Bundestag has now decided that the length of an appointment will be twelve years and has set a retiring age of 68. In future each constitutional judge will be able to have his vote recorded when he is outvoted on a verdict.

The Federal Court of Justice is also based in Karlsruhe and is the final court for cases brought before civil or criminal courts.

If a civil case has gone to the supreme court of the relevant Federal state or a criminal case has gone to the assize court or Supreme Criminal Court, the only subsequent appeal court is the Federal Court of Justice.

It is the highest court for normal jurisdiction, apart from the special jurisdiction of the labour, social, financial and administrative courts.

## BOOK REVIEWS

## Exile groups in Britain during World War II

German Socialist Exile Groups in Great Britain from 1940 to 1945" by Werner Röder in a series of works by the Research Institute of the Friedrich Schlegel Foundation. Published by the Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, Hanover. 322 pages. Price 32 marks.

The title of the book being reviewed is as undramatic as the style of the author who collected this hitherto unpublished material for his dissertation on German exile organisations in Great Britain during the Second World War. Röder's report is as concise as it is passionate. Only rarely does he depart from the documents, letters, publications and minutes of the frequent meetings of these people exiled from Germany.

This is good for the objectivity of his book but it only occasionally suggests the drama contained in these documents when read in a wider context.

The author wisely kept to the limits set him by the material which is why he managed to "complete the known facts in their first comprehensive form".

Röder deserves credit for this. Today only experts specialising in the history of the Socialist movement remember the exile groups and their leaders who played a role in Britain during the Second World War.

There was the Sopade, the Social Democratic Party Executive, called PV for short because of the general love of abbreviations.

There was the NB, the New Beginning, the German Socialist Labour Party (SAP), states agreed to pay DLF a sum of 28 million Marks in 1970 which was fixed at only 25 millions a year in 1966 onwards.

The station's extra financial demands (seventeen million Marks this year) are covered by special Federal credit. Even in the station's ninth year of existence it is hard to say whether the book, middle-class exile organisations when Deutschlandfunk will be independent of the government's but

Marianne Kottbusch, German Human Rights League, the German Cultural League, the Free Group of Independent German Authors, the 1943 Club.

Finally there were the attempts — characteristically vain attempts — to include all exiles in a Free German Movement. This all sounds confusing and it is not the author's fault that readers find it hard to get straight all the clashes on aims, differences of opinion and personal antipathies expressed in the letters and notes.

Sometimes new groups were set up that were often no larger than "pencils" changed into organisations" with new names and new publications that usually had a short life.

The reader even gets the impression at times that the author wants to do these people, who were isolated, condemned to political ineffectuality and forced into exile, a service, however late, by conferring upon their memory a historical rank that their political actions and declarations failed to achieve despite their despairing efforts.

Röder's report gives a number of reasons for this. First there was the moral formalism of the party executive that felt itself bound to aid its members from March 1933 and was determined to restore them in a formal act after liberation.

But this forced it into a sterile inflexibility, especially as connections with members who had stayed at home were finally cut on the outbreak of war, and paved the way for a whole series of moves by

those exiles who wanted a party in its own right.

The executive thus renounced any room for political manoeuvre and could only justify its position by dogma. In this it only continued a good old Socialist tradition of burning itself up in ideological debates. The only difference this time was that people with varying political opinions now consolidated themselves in groups with their own names.

Then there was the Communist opposition to any move aiming at unification, especially after the entry of the Soviet Union into the war released them from the infamous compulsion of supporting Hitler and opposing their host country.

Finally mention must be made of the isolation within the British population that increased as the war continued. Over fifty per cent of the population were opposed to the German Socialists to some degree or other and even the Labour Party shunned their influence completely.

It was therefore little wonder that even the more liberal Socialists toyed with the idea of making allowances for Communist participation in the unity they hoped for.

But then for the first time the exiles gained a hearing with one of the powers at war. Though even today we know little about the motives, the Soviet Union agreed to the wishes and ideas of the exiles.

This was very much in contrast to the British government who at most used individual exiles as spokesmen or authors of their propaganda against Hitler.

Now even war aims were drawn up by people like Victor Schiff spurred on by the Russian-sanctioned support of the German Communists. They had as their content nothing less than the "territorial integrity of the Reich" in the frontiers of 1933.

But that understandably remained a mere episode and all efforts towards unity also failed. Only under the direct pressure of the Red Army in the Soviet Zone of occupation did they have any success — however dubious.

After the War was over only a few members of the old party executive and other exile groups returned home to Germany. These included Willy Eichler, von Knoeringen, Erich Ollenauer and Erwin Schüttle, to name the most famous.

The main force behind the reconstitution of the Social Democratic Party had not been in exile but had spent many years as a prisoner of the Nazis. This was Kurt Schumacher and he had other things in mind than unification with the Communists.

There is a certain touch of tragedy in this result of the Socialist emigration. But it need not weigh heavily on the SPD today and it must not be allowed to, especially as a frank, undogmatic politician like Willy Brandt has become party leader.

But people should not lose sight of it as it helps to relativise the unchanging regularity of Socialist calculations of the future which are still used in arguments today.

Politics needs dogma-free room for manoeuvre and that is why Werner Röder's book is so useful and its many, often forgotten details so interesting.

Ernst Wilhelm Graf Lynar  
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
für Deutschland, 11 December 1970

Continued from page 4

court proceedings are continued by the court submitting them.

The five heads of the supreme courts of justice are members of this chamber along with the heads of the chambers concerned, a judge from the chambers of the court of justice submitting a case and one from the chamber of the Supreme court of justice from whose decision the court submitting material wishes to depart. In special cases the number of members can be increased.

Dr Otto Reismann  
WELT DER ARBEIT, 16 December 1970

## Federal Republic unable to defend itself, new study claims

It is easy to say that this country's Bundeswehr is an army for peace but unfortunately it is not so easy to understand. Some people find this description rather cynical as they believe that armaments and armies have always unleashed conflicts or at least helped them on their way.

Other people find the phrase "soldiers of peace" to be an unnecessary complication of the simple fact that armies have to fight and defend.

This second attitude admittedly avoids a more exact definition of the word defend. With the means of annihilation at our disposal defence can soon become self-destruction. The picture of war that so many people speak of is not all that clear.

One of the most violent discussions on the nature of war was provoked by the Ministry of the Interior in 1961 when it published its ideas on protecting the population.

Criticism expressed in a memorandum issued by the League of Scientists (VDW) and in a Bundestag hearing maintained that the government was basing its arguments on one fixed idea of what war would be like and was not paying any attention to other possibilities.

The VDW suggested to the Volkswagen Foundation that there should be an investigation into the consequences various types of war would have on the Federal Republic.

Six years' work was spent on the investigation and the results are now available. They are to be published in January 1971 by the Carl Hanser publishing concern of Munich in a collected volume edited by Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker and entitled *The Consequences and Prevention of War*.

The writers must have realised that they had to attack two popular practices more than anything else — comparing a future conflict with experiences from the Second World War and the other extreme of claiming that nuclear destruction is unpredictable.

When assessing possible damage, the research team concentrated on "estimating the condition of population, buildings and economy in our country after the use of weapons of known average total effect". The bases for calculations of this type are known. The researchers therefore "only" had to provide the results.

But this work developed its own laws of dynamism. It proved that it presupposed certain facts about political aims and strategy and it also became plain that "a study of the consequences of war automatically led to a study of the prevention of war", as Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker writes in his introduction to the analysis.

Without taking the present political situation into account, the team considered four forms of conflict — a fight for regionally limited aims in the Federal Republic; the attempt of an enemy to

Because the functions of the supreme courts of justice are so clearly delineated the Joint Chamber only rarely needs to be asked for a decision.

But the Joint Chamber is an important point of contact between the courts, enabling conformity of legal administration. This means that the very important "Law for the Preservation of Conformity in the Legal Administration of the Federal Republic" is being carried out.

Dr Otto Reismann  
WELT DER ARBEIT, 16 December 1970

conquer the Federal Republic; the attempt to destroy the country physically and finally a war that was only part of a larger conflict between the world powers.

Many people may consider the overall results of the analysis to be alarming. The Federal Republic has no defence against any of the above-mentioned threats, if defence is defined as the ability to prevent an enemy by using military means from carrying out a threat he is determined to carry out, even when making allowances for the large-scale damage he may suffer.

In other words, the Federal Republic cannot be defended. But it is stressed in the study that our military security does not depend on our capacity to defend but on our capacity to deter.

The Federal Republic cannot prevent an enemy from conquering or destroying her but she can threaten the enemy within the framework of Nato that the costs of such a step would be incalculable

## Süddeutsche Zeitung

and could stretch as far as the enemy's own destruction. Weizsäcker claims that our chances of surviving a war are so minimal that we must prevent it at all costs.

In recent years we have placed most of our hopes on the logic of the systems of nuclear threat. But we were later made uneasy but critics who said that the positive stabilising factors of the balance of fear also had negative aspects, sociological and psychological results.

The Weizsäcker study is more cautious on this point. But it too points to the weak point of nuclear strategy — its credibility.

Horst Afheldt in particular drew the reader's attention to the critical area between the extreme conflicts — between an overall nuclear attack on Europe and a limited conflict with conventional methods.

Afheldt says that, on the one hand, the assumption of escalation leading to mutual destruction lessens the credibility of the threat because of the dimension of the catastrophe.

On the other hand, the assumption that there is little likelihood of escalation (and a fixing of the limits of escalation) undermines the threat and allows war to be considered once again as a serviceable means.

Afheldt says that this basic dilemma cannot be eliminated by combining conventional defence and the nuclear deterrent as envisaged in the case of the Nato strategy of flexible response.

With all due respect to its important function, mention must also be made of this strategy's precarious emergency solution character, especially as the further technical development of nuclear weapons — multiple warheads and missile defence systems, for example — acts as a further instability factor on the sensitive overkill balance.

Sphinx-like and pessimistic, Weizsäcker ventured a forecast for the future of this process: "The further technical development of the weapons offers at best the prospect that the present degree of security preventing a world war will be preserved, but it also contains a series of opportunities worsening it."

Christian Potyka  
Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 December 1970

## READING

## Book clubs stress the entertainment idea in their fight for survival

Between 1967 and 1969 book clubs lost from 35 to 43 per cent of their market. The triumphant progress of the book clubs in the fifties has been checked and their dominant position in this country's literary world has been challenged.

The time of almost unlimited expansion is over. "The market has become sparser," said Manfred Fischer of the Bertelsmann concern when announcing the firm's cooperation with the Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft.

That was six months ago — the last step for the time being on the path of increasing monopolisation. Bertelsmann paid twenty million Marks for a fifty per cent share.

At present the programme and the organisation are still separate but it is likely that the Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft will be incorporated into the Bertelsmann Readers' Circle.

The situation of the book clubs is no longer as good as it was. The costs involved in recruiting just one member often total 100 Marks or more, exceeding the limits of profitability.

But the book clubs need new members as fluctuation is high and as many as fifteen per cent of members may leave in a twelve month period.

The present situation is that the membership total is stagnant, if not on the decrease, and that there is increasing monopolisation.

The reasons for this can only be guessed at. Looking at the market statistically, every member of the population must have been a member of a book club at least once, if not more times, in his life. The market is therefore exhausted.

Another reason could be that the programme of the book clubs is aimed at a diminishing section of the public. Perhaps readers' demands and interests have changed.

Book clubs seized upon the idea that people treated books as a fetish of learning. Shelves full of heavy tomes bound in leather and gold became a symbol of education and learnedness.

Every thought, every fact could be set down in print and bound into books. Knowledge became a possession that could confidently be carried home.

But as learning, once the domain of a privileged class, gradually grew into a consumer article, its exclusive character was lost, as was the whole concept of learning.

Signs of learning deteriorated into superficial status symbols, the goal of the petit bourgeois mentality that sought conformity and social ascent.

That was the age of the book clubs. Their petit bourgeois origins have not been completely overcome even today. The Buchergilde has done most to leave this image behind, the Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft the least.

Book clubs are making a mistake now if they rely on status symbols and educational prestige. As the social situation changed, the book lost nearly all its value as a status symbol. The flood of paperbacks was the first sign of this.

Books are today more than ever a means to an end which can be stimulation, entertainment or information. It stands alongside other media and can only assert itself by adapting to the needs of the reader.

In future the average reader will probably only gain something from reading if the amount of time and concentration is outweighed by pleasure.

The book has two powerful com-

petitors — the audio-visual media on the one hand and the illustrated magazines and cheap novels on the other.

If Hans Magnus Enzensberger is correct in his *Stepping Stone to a Theory of Media* (published in Kursbuch, 20 Marks), the book has already played out its role as a bearer of information and a means of entertainment.

The future belongs to the audio-visual media. Compared with them the book has the advantage of not being bound to time or place.

Technical developments are on the point of eliminating the reliance of the audio-visual media on time and place. But this process will presumably take longer than the fans of the audio-visual media believe, especially as the question of price plays a decisive and as yet undecided role.

Another advantage of the book is that reading does not disturb other people.

As far as periodicals are concerned, ten publishing concerns publish 87 series of comics, war stories or romantic novels. The annual production is estimated to be 357 million copies, more than six times the number of copies of literary works that appear. Fifty million illustrated magazines must be added to this figure.

Already the reading of most of our contemporaries is restricted to these magazines and cheap novels that can be easily consumed and are readily available unlike media that are bound to time and place.

Books, like magazines, are not bound to a particular place but they do normally require greater attention and greater concentration.

A survey has shown that 32 per cent of this country's population — a figure totalling eighteen million people — did not read a book in 1967 and that 28 per cent of all households do not own a single book.

Book clubs know that the door to a bookshop is a psychological and social barrier to many potential buyers. Attempts by the book trade to popularise bookshops have never been completely successful as bookshops did not want to surrender their intellectual, pretensions and always placed great value on preserving the differences between a book shop and a supermarket.

Book clubs exploited this situation. The market today is dominated by Bertelsmann and the Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft with a combined total of almost five million members, the Deutsche Buchbund with 1.2 million and the Buchergilde with 300,000.

Subtracting the 2.3 million members of Bertelsmann's book clubs abroad, that

leaves four million people in this country who are members of a book club.

The last survey on the book-purchasing habits of private households revealed that bookshops registered 36 per cent of total sales, book clubs 35 per cent and department stores thirteen per cent. One book in three is sold by a book club.

Department stores are now placing more emphasis on selling books. Last year Kaufhof alone had a 23 million Mark turnover in this branch.

An estimated seventy per cent of all literary works are sold via a book club. The programmes of the book clubs are aimed at readers who have an unconscious fear of bookshops or can never be bothered to go to one.

On the positive side, they like the way the books are sold, the cheaper prices and the easily accessible information on books that interest them.

They are at a loss when confronted by the jungle of the free literary market but the illustrated book club magazine turns the inaccessible world of literature into a cosy home.

Members of book clubs want first to quench their thirst for entertainment. Mere entertainment and diversion can be supplied more quickly and more cheaply by cheap novels and the mass media.

It is probably in the field of entertainment that books will first have to surrender their once dominant role. The decrease in the number of this type of book at the book fairs is probably symptomatic.

The only chance for the book's continued existence is, for it to supply information, analyses and critical studies, thus compensating the reader for the effort he has put into it.

This is the case with the popular works of non-fiction, contemporary prose and sociological and anthropological studies.

What books do the book clubs offer their readers? Entertainment is dominant. The Deutsche Buchergemeinschaft has the largest proportion of entertainment with 51 per cent; followed by Bertelsmann with 46 per cent and the Buchbund and Buchergilde each with 35 per cent. These figures are supplied by a consumer association (Warentest).

The combined proportion of literary works totals seventy per cent while the comparable figure in the publishing houses is only fifteen per cent.

What is entertainment literature? The Buchbund describes it as "hard facts, mercilessly frank" or "passionate, deeply emotional and intimate novels" or as a "powerful cocktail for sagging laughter muscles."

But it scarcely turns out this way. Readers' favourite habits are interesting and encouraged by spotlighting books that promise success.

There remains the impression that the programme is dominated by mass designed as pure entertainment or emotional satisfaction while analytical or informative literature is represented by only a few works, if any.

High sales are recorded for works of entertainment. Among the millions of copies of recommended volumes sent to readers there are few running counter to an average consumer's habits.

It would be silly to blame the book clubs for this. After all they must maintain a balance between profit and education. The situation only characterises the reading and reading material in the Federal Republic. The near future could show that book clubs are antiquated institutions.

Ulrich Griebel  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 December 1970)

But unfortunately the cocktail is watery. All the successful authors are in book club lists with their bestsellers: Eric Malpass, J.M. Stummel, Anne G. Arthur Hailey and John Knittel are a few of them.

There are also names that are famous though just as popular — Victor Holt, Marie-Louise Fischer or Angel Jordan with the ten-volume series, *Les Lovers*.

Book clubs still deal in social love stories, "his" and "hers" on bound in leather and embossed in gold. Trivial literature still forms the bulk and only occasionally does a work by Boris Pasternak or Günter Grass achieve successful breakthrough. Works by Käthe Brecht and Joyce should not be allowed to conceal the fact that the book club still makes most of their money on works like *Angélique*.

Book clubs often claim to cater exclusively for the wishes of their readers. This is true in as much as they are those demands that they previously ignored.

It is an illusion to believe that reader is allowed to remain completely uninfluenced — the decision to buy is mainly determined by reading the illustrated magazines issued by the clubs.

Anyone reading one of these magazines will soon realise that they are not books but entertainment magazines which information does not always have priority.

The books are not arranged in such a way as to provide emotional criteria. Table of contents only rarely gives information on a book and its author. They are usually no more than a list of emotionally phrased commendations.

All book clubs have a system policy. One example is the system recommended volumes. Members of book club promise to select and read a volume every quarter, otherwise it is sent what is described as the recommended volume.

The number of members making up their right of selection varies a lot. Only seventy per cent of Bücherbund Bertelsmann members make use of it, right whereas the figure for the Buchergilde, where reminders are sent out, is 87 per cent.

If thirty per cent of all members sent the recommended volume means, in Bertelsmann's case, 600,000 copies are sold. This is a figure publishers dream of.

It can be assumed that the recommended volumes readers are sent is the better the programme of a book club — readers have been able to make their own choice. Bücherbund offer 600 books and Buchgemeinschaft and Bertelsmann 700.

Book clubs should awaken fresh literary interest and quench the thirst for knowledge and information in their programmes and magazines.

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## THE ARTS

## Old Italian paintings at Stuttgart

Stuttgart's Staatsgalerie boasts an impressive newly opened Italian and Flemish department. The first thing that strikes the visitor to this new gallery is a couple of paintings of the Apocalypse on wood, rectangular, with dark blue background and stony-grey brownish "islands".

One of these was bought by the Museum from the collection of Graf zu Erbach-Fürstentum and the other is a temporary loan.

These pictures which heretofore tell us were brought by a brother-in-law of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe from Italy were hanging recently in Darmstadt.

They are by no means unknown and art historians and scientists have estimated that they originated in Naples between 1330 and 1340.

A fresco in the Neapolitan church of Santa Maria Donna Anna dating from about twenty years earlier provided the example for the island-like scenes. Fascination with the Apocalypse was strong in the fourteenth century particularly in the ruling house of Anjou in Naples.

This is as far as art historians can go in making these unique attempts comprehensible and tying them in with other works. They are connected by no unity of composition and are simply a string of works one after the other connected only by an invisible thread which the initiated alone can recognise.

The places in the Scriptures from which these scenes are drawn is explained by Anna Gret Schmitt in the *Patheon*.

Celebrations in Nuremberg to mark the 500th anniversary of the birth of the city's most famous son, Albrecht Dürer, began recently with a performance of Arnold Schoenberg's *Moses and Aaron*, speeches by the Federal Chancellor, Willy Brandt and an address by Dr. Alfons of the Bavarian government.

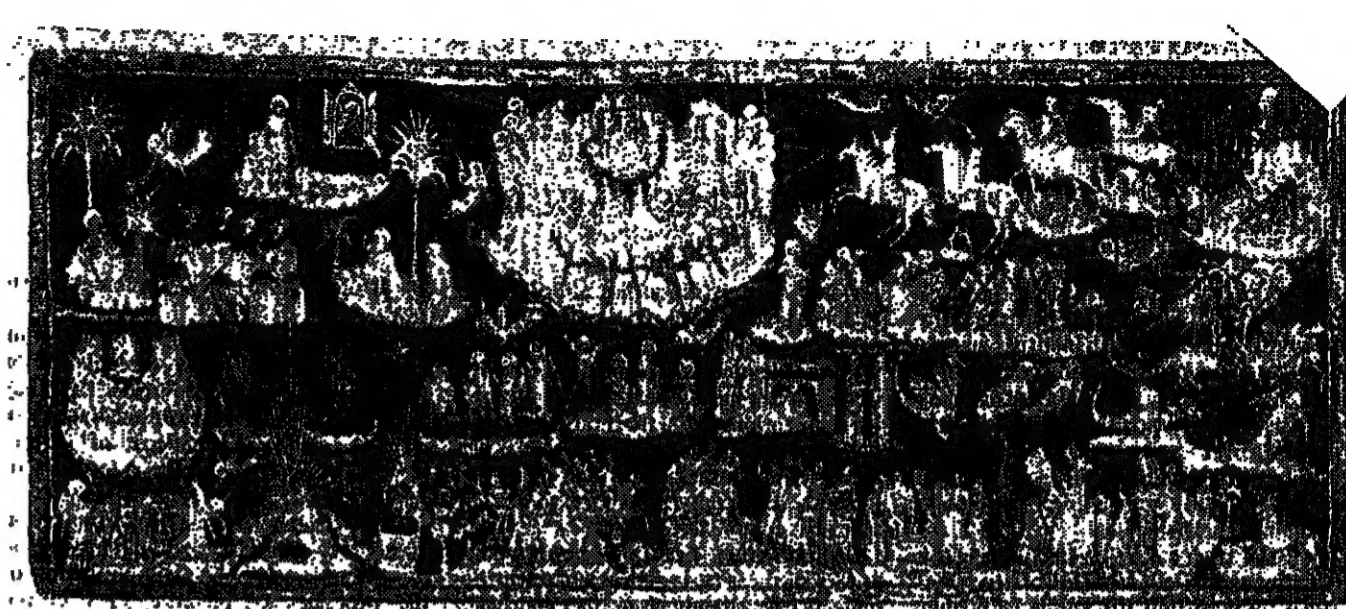
By granting a special financial allocation for this occasion of approximately six million Marks the city fathers of Nuremberg planned to give the city a new image for next year.

The city of the Reich Party congresses is to become a city of pilgrimage for admirers of Dürer from all over the world. An advertising agent in Munich is being given one million Marks to beat the drum for Nuremberg on this occasion. Albrecht Dürer is having the cobwebs blown away from his image, he is being vaunted as a hippy and his Eve with fig-leaf, painted in 1507, is described by the public relations team as "quite a sexy piece".

The city famous for gingerbread, its own sausage, raffles and 1 FC Nuremberg football club is having a new dimension added to it. This is the city that Martin Luther once described as the eyes and ears of Germany. Even today Nuremberg welcomes artists and writers but is prepared to be critical.

There is still a sense of the flair of the medieval, imperial citadel and the folklore of Hans Sachs. The temperament of Nuremberg is that of a progressive city in the heart of Europe that is conducting a critical dialogue with Dürer.

Scene designer Josef Svoboda constructed the multi-media show *Noricans* at the imperial fortress for 1,750,000 Marks. It includes nine portable cinema screens on which ten projectors will show the story of Nuremberg. The city's press



for November/December 1970. She also explains which miniatures were influenced by these tableaux. But apart from that their enigma remains unsolved.

In a gallery of early Italian works which the Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart has already opened these works would immediately stand out even if they were not placed as centrepieces. They would be rather like a unicorn in a well tended garden.

They are much smaller than one would have imagined from photographs, but their monumental effect has no connection at all with Giotto and Simone Martini who both produced works at that time along the lines of Lorenzetti.

Thereafter for at least five centuries paintings of this kind showed the conflict of space and depth. The three-dimensional aspects are turned into flatness but they are not negated.

On the Erbach — or as they are now called Stuttgart — *Tafeln* there is no unity of space, the visual angle alternates and in some cases even individual figures such as the four horsemen placed in the background stand out each separately.

Perspective is used to make a house a house a city but not in order to create depth.

The first wood painting has a central group with a judge ruling over all the world, similar to the fresco that I have already mentioned.

There is nothing of this kind on the second of the two paintings on wood at the Stuttgart gallery.

On this one the quality of the painting reaches its greatest refinement, particularly in its applications of colours and above all the reds, greens and gold.

On both of these two paintings on wood the way individual figures are made to stand out in an aura of light which is produced by leaving the chalky background is a particularly beautiful effect.

Everywhere in these two works where the vision surpasses all imagination the quality of the unknown painter comes out at its strongest.

Whether these paintings on wood were executed on a conventional church commission or whether they were privately commissioned is something that remains

The Apocalypse done on wood in Naples in the fourteenth century, art experts believe

(Photo: Staatsgalerie Stuttgart)

in doubt, particularly with regard to their unusual format.

It is also unknown whether there were ever comparable works in Naples. So much of the artistic production of that time has not stood the test of time and has been destroyed.

The impression that these works are something exceptional for that place and that time is borne out by the peculiar characteristics of the painting technique. The groups and figures seem to be sunken into the dark blue and not raised and outstanding.

The timeless flood that swirls around these swimming islands of angels, dragons, raging fires, moribund cities and the like is unrecognisable as a datum plane.

The extreme refinement of this conception and the way it has been executed gives an air of grandeur to the negation of the great contemporaries of this unknown painter including Giotto who also worked in Naples. In the development of miniature painting on wood these two works, without doubt, form an impasse, but it is a regal road.

In Stuttgart these two works have for the first time been placed in a chronological context, as I have already said. At the moment the number of paintings from the fourteenth century is small, but it has been conceived with the prospect in mind of a considerable legacy.

Baron von Preuschen, a notable art collector and for many years chairman of the Stuttgart Gallery Society, has bequeathed his collection to the gallery.

All in all the gallery of the Old Italian and French painters has made many new acquisitions. These include many overdone Baroque pieces. And many very dubious works have disappeared into the depths of the storerooms. Other works have emerged into the light of day again and many that conform to modern ideas have been acquired.

There are three galleries with Italian works and three with Flemish, running parallel to each other, leading to a great gallery with four Schönfeld works as the dominating works in the room.

Other works of note are a portrait of Natler and a self-portrait by Luca Giordano.

The new exhibition in the Stuttgart gallery is not perfection and has one or two thin spots and one or two presumably unavoidable compromises.

One charming and surprising acquisition of the past eight years is Rubens' *Alte Dame mit jungem Mädchen* and from the old stock a stoning of Saint Stephen by Carpaccio.

It was a fortunate inspiration to provide a view through from the gallery of early Italians to one of the finest acquisitions of more than 200 years ago, Memling's *Bathsheba*. Clara Menck

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 December 1970)

## Nuremberg celebrates 500th anniversary of Dürer's birth

office has devised the slogan: "A feast for the five senses" to boost the festivities.

It is still not known how much the bumper Dürer exhibition in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum will cost.

The people of Nuremberg who now have only two Dürer works in their possession (a portrait of Kaiser Maximilian I and a portrait of the teacher Michael Volgemut) are hoping that despite all the refusals they have received for appeals for paintings to be loaned they will be able to show 32 of the extant oil paintings by Dürer.

One of those that they will not show is the Vier Apostel (Four Apostles) which hangs in Munich's Alte Pinakothek. This masterpiece was loaned on to a straw-covered ox cart in 1627 and sent as a loan to Munich. It never came back.

The joint planners in the Kunsthalle are spending 370,000 Marks on an exhibition entitled *Theorie und Werk*. This will include works by Dürer, Leonardo, Max Ernst, Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol.

Faber-Castell, the pencil manufacturers, sent a handful of painters on an advertising tour following Dürer's tracks. The expedition cost 50,000 Marks. As a result it will be possible to see a genuine Dürer picture at the central station with stall holders dressed the part and imitation Dürer products will surround it, not to mention sausages, ice cream and other Nuremberg trinkets.

Even the avant garde are being ribbed for solemn homages to Dürer. John

Read has made a lengthy television film on Dürer for the British Broadcasting Corporation and Bayerischer Rundfunk.

The Dürer House has been renovated at a cost of 232,000 Marks and the old Hangman's Bridge will also be there to present a complete Dürer picture to the guests. At the Opernhaus director August Everding and scene designer Josef Svoboda are producing Richard Wagner's *Meistersinger von Nürnberg* at a cost of 250,000 Marks.

On the concert programme ten works will be included, with pieces by Ligeti, Zimmermann, Arlbert Reimann and the Korean Isang Yun.

Granted these have nothing much to do with Dürer but it must be added that the mea of the theatre were not too bothered in producing works relevant to the occasion when they asked for 173,000 Marks. So they will be presenting Kotzebue's *Deutsche Kleinstädte*, Brecht's *Leben des Galilei* Goethe's original *Gotz von Berlichingen* and Fassbinder's *Blut am Hals der Katze*.

There will be no reminders of the Nuremberg laws or the Nuremberg trials. Visitors are already saying ironically that by 1976 Nuremberg will be put out of joint again when the city celebrates the 500th anniversary of the death of shoemaker and poet Hans Sachs. The 100th anniversary of the death of the revolutionary philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach in 1972 will be forgotten.

Hans Bertram Bock  
(Hannoversche Presse, 5 December 1970)

## ■ EDUCATION

## Proposals to set up a Federal University Conference to replace Rectors Conference

The Federal Republic Rectors Conference (WRK) recently held consultations with all academic institutions and university associations in this country.

The rectors fear, justifiably, that they may lose their position as university representatives and become spokesmen for university teaching staff — a position they have already reached in fact, though it is against their wishes.

They see their salvation in changing the WRK into a Federal University Conference representing the whole of further education and giving equal priority to the interests of the various disciplines and the political aims of their members.

This new University Conference should act as a representative of all spheres of further education to the central government and the Federal states and, in a plan drawn up by Professor Mathofer, carry out the following functions:

1. Planning further education, including university building;
2. Setting up and approving new universities and colleges of further education;
3. Controlling the process to end admission restrictions now imposed in some subjects (this however also includes organising numerous clauses while it still exists);
4. Maintaining international relations between universities in this country and abroad;
5. Coordinating educational and administrative work.

It has been reported that Hans Leistikow, the Minister of Education and Science, reacted to these plans with an amused smile. Proposals for a supra-

regional administration has already been rejected in Baden-Württemberg.

There is also opposition in the universities themselves. The Medical Faculty Congress can hardly be expected to sever its connections with the pharmaceutical industry, the Federal Medical Chamber and the Marburg League and join the Federal University Conference as a specialist committee.

On the other hand the faculty congresses of the arts, technical and scientific subjects have already given their approval.

The decisive factor is whether the colleges of further education and vocational colleges that were previously neither organised in the WRK nor integrated in a comprehensive university — the Schools of engineering, schools of economics, the (Protestant) church universities and the (Catholic) philosophical and theological faculties — would be prepared to give up their own associations.

Only then could a Federal University Conference speak for the whole sector of further education and undermine the divide and rule principle practised successfully up to now by the educational authorities.

The first agreement in this field was made in the first week of December. At a closed session the representatives of all types of institutions giving further education expressed their basic readiness to take a joint initiative in this matter.

Their unanimous rejection of some sections of the general University Law made it possible to pass a unanimous resolution. Practical questions such as the functions, organisation and legal form of

the Federal University Conference were left open.

The Federal Conference of Assistant Lecturers and the VDS students' union have approved this resolution. But they have pointed out that representatives of all universities and colleges of further education can oppose the intentions of the founders.

The existence of such an organisation in no way guarantees self-determination for the universities or a simplification of the processes of planning or decision-making.

If it does not express its political interests in a democratic reform and establish a system of educational priorities when it is founded, the Federal University Conference will not be a body independent of state administration but an instrument to integrate the universities and colleges of further education into the State apparatus.

It will only prove significant if the establishment of norms for the scientific structure and organisation is not made merely a function for the future.

The statute founding the Conference must contain a number of firm political principles for a democratic system of further education.

Of course this project can only succeed if the Federal University Conference is able to finance its planning and administration.

The WRK gets half its finances from the universities' membership fees that are in part directly transferred by the Federal states and can therefore always be stopped.

The other half of its budget comes from donations by the Stifterverband and the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, among others. Money problems are discussed at nearly every plenary session of the body.

At present the Volkswagen Foundation is the only body powerful enough to supply the initial finance. But in the long term, a Federal University Conference could never carry out its functions without a promise of funds from the budgets of the Federal states and the central government in Bonn.

This shows the dilemma of the situation. No money will be forthcoming from those people who wish to thwart an organisation covering all universities and colleges of further education, and who obviously do not want their planning data and organisational proposals to be competently analysed and answered.

Volker Gerhardt  
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 December 1970)

## Money for graduates

The Ministry of Education and Science in Bonn has submitted a draft Bill for consideration that should give university graduates better grants than are now offered.

The government plans financial support for 5,000 graduates who will be working for their doctorate in 1971. The Bill suggests that single students should get 900 Marks a month for two years while married students should receive 1,100 Marks.

In the first year the central government will supply ninety per cent of the money and later 75 per cent. The remaining 25 per cent will be provided by the Federal states.

The new aid programme will not only enable graduates to become a doctor more quickly but will also help guarantee that universities will be supplied with young teachers.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 December 1970)

## Schools must cater for foreign children in this country

Children of foreign workers employed in the Federal Republic must have the same educational opportunities as local children, Herr Bargmann, the chairman of the educational committee of North Rhine-Westphalia Provincial Assembly, recently announced.

To achieve this end, he added, the governing compulsory schooling must be changed and then strictly adhered to. Children should be helped with the homework, thousands of foreign teachers must be employed and bilingual teaching must be provided.

Bargmann stated, "Recent findings show that bilingual teaching is absolutely necessary as more and more foreign workers do not want to return home to settle in this country."

"We must therefore adjust the educational system to the fact that our work will first of all become guest citizens than fellow-citizens."

Figures supplied by the Ministry of Education in North Rhine-Westphalia show that 2.2 per cent of elementary school children are foreign. The figure for intermediate schools are 1.4 per cent for *Realschulen* 0.5 and for high schools 0.6 per cent. The 1.85 million foreign workers in this country have now been followed by about 1.2 million children. 300,000 of these are children of attend a school. Bargmann estimates about 150,000 children of foreign workers do not get any schooling.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 9 December 1970)

## Pay as you learn

The Ministry of Labour is currently putting the finishing touches to a long-discussed Bill providing for a gradual introduction of special leave for people wishing to attend courses of further training. The Bill will soon be submitted to groups and institutes concerned.

Estimates of the financial effects are however disputed. An effort is now being made to calculate costs more accurately. Indirect costs play a part here. Enough attention was paid to this in the first drafts of the Bill.

Because of these difficulties it is doubtful whether the Bill will be submitted to the groups involved before the spring of 1971.

But the Bill has already been drafted allowing for training leave to be granted for courses of further training — especially professional and political and also new courses linking professional training and political education to a greater extent than happens now.

Courses will be given financial aid. Successful participation is ensured by length, the organisation of the training, its teaching methods and the training educational and specialist experience of the director and teaching staff. The courses will mainly be organised by recognised colleges of further education.

If a course satisfies all the requirements, employees will be allowed to take leave from their place of work for a year. But for the time being only a certain number of employees will be allowed to obtain leave for further training. Account must also be taken of the limited number of courses of further training now available.

But when the law providing for special leave for further training is on the statute book many colleges and organisations specialising in further education must increase the number of courses and arrange.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 December 1970)

## ■ ASTRONOMY

## Jupiter is hotter than supposed

Research into the planet Jupiter has now lost its puzzle-game character. Theoretical considerations, measurements with radio telescopes and spectroscopes and experiments with artificial atmospheres have enabled scientists to gain some idea of the structure of this giant planet. Details are still not all that clear however.

Two questions dominating discussions in recent years have now been settled. The temperatures at the upper and the inner layers of the planet's atmosphere are far higher than once thought.

The chemical composition of the atmosphere has also been determined. There is also further information now on the composition of the nucleus of the planet.

Physicists from the universities of Bochum and Brunswick are mainly responsible for the new picture gained of Jupiter.

Scientists believe that Jupiter was formed from a gaseous cloud which had, at the beginning of its development, the same chemical components as the sun.

Hydrogen, helium, carbon, nitrogen and oxygen must have been found quite frequently all over the planet. This led to the formation of methane and ammonia.

Bochum physicist Oswald Röhrig of the Ruhr University's department of extra-terrestrial physics states that a number of spectroscopic analyses have given scientists an astonishingly clear picture of the composition of the planet's atmosphere.

The atmosphere is made up of hydrogen, helium, methane and ammonia in the rough proportion of 5.0 parts hydrogen: 1.0 parts helium: 0.005 parts methane: 0.001 parts ammonia. Hydrogen can be seen to be the dominant element in the atmosphere of the planet, its proportion being five times higher than that of helium.

Oswald Röhrig and Dr Fritz Manfred Neubauer of Brunswick's Technical University have contributed to work to discover the structure of the atmosphere.

They have found that there is a layer of steam immediately above the surface of the planet. Above this layer can be found drops of water and crystals of ice. There now comes a level of ammonia gas that also freezes into crystals a little higher up.

The reason for this structure is that steam condenses at a higher temperature than ammonia and the temperature of the atmosphere of Jupiter — like that of the Earth — decreases with altitude.

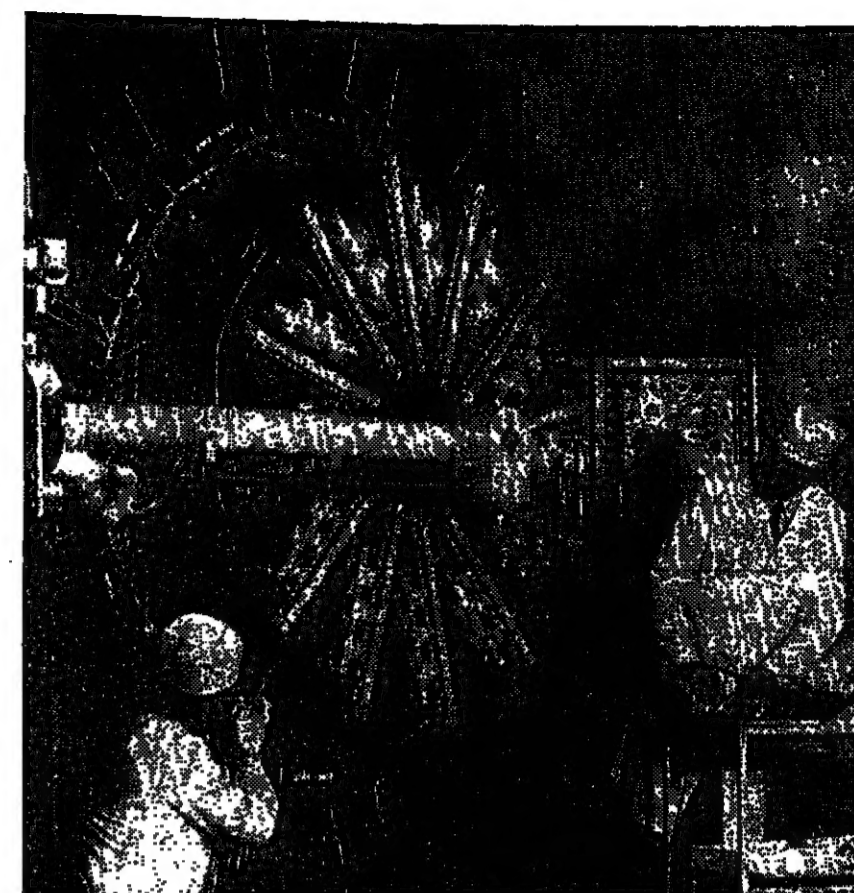
Dr Neubauer of the geophysics department at Brunswick University even considers it possible that the temperature on the surface of Jupiter could be as high as on the surface of Venus — about 400 degrees centigrade.

For a long time astronomers believed that the temperature in the extreme levels of the atmosphere (about minus 120 degrees centigrade) meant that the whole planet was just one big block of ice.

But there are considerable temperature differences in the upper atmosphere. Measurements of between minus seventy and minus 150 degrees centigrade were recorded.

But finally astrophysicists calculated that Jupiter gave off twice as much energy as it received from the sun 484 million miles away.

The planet is heated by an energy process, though nothing is yet known about how this works. Oswald Röhrig suspects that there is some sort of nuclear process on the planet.



## New communications satellite

This new communications satellite, named "Transponder", is the third in a series of satellites this country has developed. It is capable of transmitting simultaneously either 6,000 telephone calls or twelve TV channels. It was recently shipped to America for launching.

(Photo: AEG-Telefunken)

Dr Neubauer sees a close connection between the turbulence of Jupiter's atmosphere and the flow of energy from the interior of the planet.

Röhrig estimates that the surface temperature of Jupiter is about thirty degrees centigrade in summer. American astrophysicists go even higher — they believe that surface temperatures on the planet must be around 130 degrees centigrade.

The biggest enigma for astrophysicists is still the structure of the planet's surface. While Bernd Hente of Brunswick supports the view that the surface is liquid his colleagues Röhrig and Neubauer do not wish to commit themselves.

But it does seem certain to all of them that the surface consists mainly of hydrogen. Röhrig suggests that parts of the surface may be liquid while other parts

are solid. Islands could exist in an ocean of hydrogen.

At the centre of the planet there is probably a pressure amounting to more than a million atmospheres. Under these conditions hydrogen would have a metallic character.

Eighty per cent of the centre of the planet should consist of hydrogen. Helium totals eighteen per cent while heavy elements make up the remaining two per cent.

Progress has also been made in research into the red patch 25,000 miles long and 6,250 miles wide. Experiments with a simulated Jupiter atmosphere of hydrogen, methane and ammonia in a pressure chamber at NASA's Ames Research Center in California have shown that it could be organic pigment.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 December 1970)

## Observatory to set up in disused p.

The first joint geoscientific observatory in the Federal Republic will be set up in disused workings at the Anton pit near Schiltach in the Black Forest.

The function of the observatory will be to record with precision instruments movements of the Earth's crust caused by earthquakes, heavy seas and the attraction of the sun and moon.

The Volkswagen Foundation has donated 550,000 Marks to convert the pit and set up a laboratory and measuring station in Schiltach.

The observatory is being set up by the geophysics departments of the universities of Karlsruhe and Stuttgart and the geodetic department in Karlsruhe.

The new observatory will arrange interdisciplinary work to increase the amount of information gained by international research on the Earth's crust and upper mantle down to a depth of one thousand kilometres.

Recent international investigations showed that the Earth has a very inhomogeneous structure down to a depth of at least 700 kilometres.

The differences in the structure of the upper levels of the Earth are closely linked with the processes now to be researched and may be the cause of tectonic movements such as the formation of mountain ranges or the shifting of continents. (DIE WELT, 8 December 1970)

## Nuclear-powered ships symposium in Hamburg

An international symposium on nuclear-powered merchant ships is to be held in Hamburg from 10 to 15 May 1971. The Association for the Use of Nuclear Energy in Shipbuilding and Navigation announced in Hamburg that the programme would deal with the technical, legal and economic problems of ships fitted with reactors.

According to the Association, the many years of service logged by the Russian icebreaker *Lenin* the American merchant ship *Savannah* and this country's *Otto Hahn* have led to important findings and shown the technical reliability of ships of this type.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 December 1970)

## Munich researchers construct an artificial sun

civilisation — is that this source will be able to cater for any imaginable increase in the demand for energy like no other system, not even the fission reactor. At present the world demand for energy is doubling every year.

As the stocks of traditional fuel that can be exploited at low prices are coming to an end, the fuel breeding fusion system of an artificial sun with a growing breeding rate must be ready by 1985 and probably will be, it was announced at the Garching ceremony.

The research done at Garching is now recognised throughout the world as pioneer work in this field. The idea of providing the high temperatures necessary in a cloud of gas controlled by surrounding magnetic fields has been adopted internationally.

The highest temperature recorded up to now — sixty million degrees centigrade — was produced by "Isar I" in 1967 by magnetic compression.

Now experiments are being conducted on the combination of various processes. Researchers hope to achieve something that has not completely succeeded in the past — combining extremely high tem-

peratures with maximum stability of the plasma, or gas cloud.

Equipment for the experiments now to come will be much larger than that previously used. "Wendelstein II" — the apparatus now used to contain the very hot gas in a stable spiral form has a diameter of one metre. "Wendelstein VII" — now on the drawing board — will be four times as large and produce a magnetic field five times as strong.

Together with comparable British and Russian equipment, it should provide basic information enabling scientists to make the correct decisions in further development towards the fusion reactor. "Pulsator I" is at present under construction. With the help of this apparatus a Tokamak experiment will be conducted.

Tokamak is a Russian word and means electricity near the maximum. Atomic physicists in Moscow recently succeeded in reaching a higher temperature, density and plasma life with this induction process than was possible in the ring-shaped magnetic fields previously investigated.

Karl Stankiewicz,

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 12 December 1970)

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## ■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

## Unions and employers both agree - now is the time to boost the economy

With a unity that is rare, both the trade unions and employers are making a demand with regard to economic policies. They are urging the government and the Bundesbank to call a halt to the restrictive measures or relax them slightly so that the industrial sector can get going again.

As far as those industrial firms with large debts are concerned this is understandable. They want to achieve the aim of their speculation, that is to say to get themselves out of debt in the face of rising prices.

An entirely different course might be expected from a small order firm, however, since it is bound to stick to the prices published in its catalogue, and the increased prices asked by those firms from which it buys have to be absorbed in its profit margin.

For this reason it is food for thought that Josef Neckermann, of the giant Neckermann mail order house, recently expressed his sympathy for Professor Claus Köhler of Hanover who, as a member of the committee of experts on economic affairs, had to beg to differ with his colleagues and came out in favour of something which, to avoid the expression aggravation of inflation, he called "an expansionist finance policy."

Industrialists and unions have united forces on this score, but it is at the cost of the consumer that they have done so. Savers would also suffer if they had their way. It seems that fears of a recession are stronger than fears of further drastic increases in costs and prices.

The boom was a wonderful thing, but even more weird and wonderful was the assumption that the medicine-man Professor Karl Schiller could breathe the breath of eternal life on the boom.

Since last summer those who are active on the economic scene have been sensing what the theoreticians, the committee of economic experts, has recently confirmed.

ed. The economy has passed the peak and the descent into the valley has begun.

Halfway down the mountain there is a little station called "normalisation". Everyone wants to get off there and stop the train there for good, but unfortunately it looks as if the economic train is going to go careering past the station.

It is for this reason that the economy has got to start on the upward climb and price increases just have to be left to their own devices. Anyway, how is the burden of debt to be borne if increased costs and prices are checked?

With these factors in mind people were prepared to applaud the Bundesbank move warmly for its second lowering of Bank Rate in recent weeks than they were for the first.

A factor that has been virtually overlooked is that, although we wish we were mistaken, we feel sure that the Americans started their economic train running back up the mountain some time ago.

The apparatus of our credit system has become more fluid because those who need credit have not been making so much use of the system. They have been able to do without supplies of credit from sources in this country since they now have a supply source abroad thanks to the turnaround in America's credit policies.

The relieving of the burden from banks in the Federal Republic has gone so far that in October 1970 for the first time in a long while one thousand million odd Marks were exported. This exporting largely took the form of non-renewal of European credits.

In the light of this the lowering of Bank Rate was nothing more than an act of confirmation.

Foreign debts incurred this year by organisations other than banks add up to around nine thousand million Marks, which is for the moment a tendency towards increase.

The effect of this movement of capital is the same as if the Bundesbank had released nine thousand million Marks in minimum required reserves. This sum is more than one third of overall minimum required bank reserves (24 thousand million Marks).

The point of a "reserve" by definition is to be there when it is required. These compulsory minimum reserves would be needed if the nine thousand million Marks of foreign debts were to be paid back by the firms in question, whether it be because the creditors decided not to prolong their loan or whether it be because the borrowers decided it would be more favourable to borrow money in their own country.

In both cases the Bundesbank would have to release some of its reserves. But the effect on the industrial economy would be neutral. It would simply be a case of robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Providing excessive money for this purpose in none too simple a matter, since the markets in Europe are so unpredictable and the Bundesbank has to be on its guard all the time against hot money flooding in from abroad in one of its many guises.

The kind of surprise that can occur in this respect was shown recently. The Federal Reserve Board, in an attempt to relieve the currency exchange market at least temporarily of an excess of dollars, introduced a refined reform to minimum reserve regulations.

This was designed to stop American banks paying back European currencies too quickly. At the end of the year repayments tend to fall due and we see the "window-dressing" of bank balances. As a result of this the banks of issue found themselves put under some considerable pressure, having to accept the dollars that came from the repayment of credits.

The announcement of the new measure alone was sufficient to produce a subtle effect on the market. Suddenly it looked as if there was going to be a loss of confidence on the incoming dollars.

The sudden demand for dollars to pay back short-term European credits does not imply that the credit market in the country has lost some of its resources, liquid cash. Furthermore it highlights a great amount of cash reserves that are required at short notice as soon as they are put among the pigeons by a move on the part of the Americans.

The hidden liquidity of the Federal Republic credit market is so susceptible to unforeseen circumstances that compulsory minimum reserves are required to maintain solvency intact.

A policy of making the domestic credit market tempting for the borrower at the end of each financial year is possible; it would mean more liberal regulations, minimum required reserves and a further lowering of Bank Rate to give it a little impulse.

There is a risk that the finances released would not flow abroad as would be an inflationary canker here; the level of reserves was lowered.

It is understandable that the Bank has still been keen to avoid this risk since it is not known what effect transactions January will have, but by the end of the month the risk should be calculable.

The expression "durchstarten" (which means giving the industrial economy boost in the middle of a deflationary phase) is in itself illusory. The American have some experiences of this and it is for the most part disappointing.

After eight months the sum total is to be stagnation, the ultimate end. The depreciation rate of the dollar remained above the five-per-cent level. The number of unemployed has exceeded the highest level since the figure for 1968.

The value of the dollar abroad is being maintained by the influence of power of Washington.

Nevertheless the stock market is showing an encouraging upward trend and further major bankruptcies have been avoided. This, it would seem, is of importance to vested interest groups in the Federal Republic.

Walter Wannenmacher  
(CHRIST UND WELT, 11 December 1970)

## Good timing required to ward off a recession

In past years are unsatisfactory since data and conditions are never completely the same and even if they were it would be impossible to read the economic future from them with 100% accuracy since the way the faceless millions who make the economy tick are going to act can never be forecast with certainty.

Nevertheless, let us look back to the previous economic low point which was reached in the year 1967. This slump had given plenty of prior warnings. By the end of 1965 it gave the first indications of being on the way and in early 1966 the first real difficulties were experienced.

During 1966, however, prices continued to head for the skies. The prophets of doom could have warned us of imminent stagflation in those days except for the fact that the word had not entered the language.

It should be noted that the absolute low of 1967 brought with it a much more stable situation with regard to prices.

If this is compared with the present day it must be stated that anyone who expected prices to start showing signs of coming back to earth now would be asking for a miracle. The rate of price increases will only slow down when the man in the street thinks twice, or preferably thrice, before spending his cash.

Apart from a disappointing increase for traders in Christmas business this year retailers are quite pleased with their 1970 sales. Presumably the urge to spend will not be checked next year either, especially if wages and salaries continue to increase.

What should the economic policy-makers do in this situation? Nothing much can be done about prices. They are in any case not an early warning system that shows when a different line is to be pursued. The level of employment is still good. But the number of orders coming in to Federal Republic industrial concerns has been cut back.

Companies are showing less willingness to extend their production capacity. Investments are certainly not likely to be so high in 1971 as they have been in 1970.

Any amount of normalisation of the situation is to be welcomed. There is, however, a danger that the level of investment will be cut back too far. Companies must be freed from sufficient financial burdens to encourage them not to choke their rate of expansion too severely.

Relief is in sight. By the end of January depressive depreciation, the method of claimed tax relief on capital investment which was suspended temporarily, will be

reintroduced. In addition to this rates are gradually being lowered. The mid-1970 Bank Rate has been lowered three easy stages from 7.5 per cent to 6 per cent.

But the Bundesbank has shown its enthusiasm for the idea of relaxed credit restrictions.

One of the main reasons for refusing to allow industry more capital is the fact that wage increases have not been checked sufficiently for price stability to be restored in the face of high consumer demand. It would, however, be dangerous to wait until this comes about.

Stubbornness on the part of a Bundesbank that intends to bring the unions into line and unions that want to prove their autonomy by making demands that are hard to meet are making it difficult for industrialists.

Both factors are working in the same direction and having the same effect. They are cutting the profit margins and the investments required to expand the business, the one by making wages expensive, the other by making credit expensive.

Workers must keep their claims modest in 1971. And the Bundesbank would be well advised not to make mistakes it made last time there was a drastic change in the economic situation. When Dr Karl Blessing was their President they kept the economic brakes checked firmly on until 1967 when the economy was in a slump.

(Kölnner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 December 1970)

## ■ REVIEW

## Postwar neo-liberal economic ideology has outlived its usefulness

Rowohl will be publishing next February a paperback entitled "Formen bürgerlicher Herrschaft - Liberalismus und Faschismus" (Types of bourgeois domination - liberal and fascist) by Reinhard Kühnl, a lecturer at the Institute for Political Science of Marburg University. The following is an extract from his book.

Changes in the social pattern since the end of the nineteenth century have taken from the liberal movement its *raison d'être* and yet even today there are parties existing that still call themselves liberal.

They advance theories that are based on a free market economy, and constitutional principles that stem from the tradition of liberal parliamentarism.

The questions of their place in history and their political function is therefore unavoidable. They are to be answered in an exemplary fashion taking the Federal Republic as their example.

The great economic crisis that followed the Wall Street crash in 1929 and lasted for some years hit all capitalist countries hard and brought with it proof positive that the self-regulating mechanisms of the capitalist system are no longer sufficient to keep the economy going.

As a result theories and practices came into operation that made the economy subject to State intervention in order to protect the industrial economy without directly interfering with the rights of the individual industrialist to autonomy within his own concern on the matters of production methods and profits.

Intervention from the State was intended basically to provide a guarantee and in cases of necessity to provide rationalisation for the private industrialist at the expense of the general public.

With the aid of this new government economic policy which was coupled with extensive contracts for munitions it was possible to surmount the crisis at long last.

It seems all the more astounding at first sight that this concept of economics which went under the name of Keynesianism was threatened at the end of the War in 1945 with a resurgence of liberal ideologies.

This applies particularly to the western part of Germany but also to some extent to the other countries of the western capitalist world.

Economic theoreticians such as Eucken, Röpke and Müller-Armack propagated a form of economic liberalism that had only been slightly changed and Ludwig Erhard voiced a claim that the "free market economy" should be turned into a political reality.

If these ideas, ideologies and theories are tested against the background of the real political situation the renaissance of economic liberalism becomes easy to understand.

This new form of liberalism, like the old, taught that free competition and private enterprise were the soundest guarantees for the prosperity of all.

The difference between this modern liberalism and the old style liberalism was that it granted that certain cases for intervention by the State were unavoidable. It was the duty of the State above all to assure that the right preconditions for free competition were guaranteed and that the power of monopolies was limited so that the giant companies could never get into a position where they alone controlled the market.

Apart from this, however, the mechanism of the economy was to be switched to free competition. Measures such as a minimum wages, maximum prices and the like were damaging and superfluous.

On the surface the new liberalism seemed to be operating on two fronts. First of all it was rejecting all kinds of socialism outright. There was to be no communal property and no State planning. On the other hand it was attacking the tendency towards monopolies and all the dangers they involve.

To its own comprehension it was offering a third way, a happy medium between socialism and capitalism, the "social free market economy".

This was supposed to avoid the disadvantages of both the other extremes. Wilhelm Röpke ascribed to it "not a conservative character, but a thoroughly revolutionary nature."

Later developments in the Federal Republic have shown drastically that despite the scientific and political astuteness that is shown in these ideas several factors make them superfluous.

Firstly there is no question of a conquest of capitalism, nor of a build-up of capital in the hands of the working classes.

Secondly the capital in companies holding a monopoly or at least a strong position on the market has managed to achieve the power it held of old.

Thirdly economic concentration has reached a pitch that has never been experienced before in the history of Germany.

Fourthly the division of wealth and the differences in incomes have become more unfair than ever, and fifthly timid advances towards control of economic power have remained totally insignificant politically speaking as the saga of monopolies legislation has shown so clearly.

From this aspect it is clear to see that the significance of this neo-liberalism lies in the sphere of methods of justification and veiling. However, it is difficult to say just what is being justified and what is being veiled.

After the collapse of the Third Reich there were at first strong tendencies towards the formation of a socialist democracy.

Capitalism had been largely discredited by its failure to master the situation during the period of economic crisis and its allegiance to fascism and the imperialism of the extreme right.

This trend can be read in political party programmes of the time as well as in the Federal state constitutions and in Hesse and Saxony's plebiscites on the question of socialisation. There was a majority in favour of more than seventy per cent.

In this situation it was only possible to rescue the capitalist system at least in the western zones if the masses could be offered an ideology that appeared to be anti-capitalist without actually endangering capitalism to any great degree.

This system would also have to appeal to the strong feeling of anti-Communism that had been nurtured for so many years. But it would have to distance itself completely from fascism, which had been totally discredited, and the militarism that went hand in glove with it. This militarism was also supported by economic directives.

Neo-liberalism met both these needs. The first was met by its doctrine stating that capitalism could be overcome and social justice could be achieved without touching private ownership and freedom of decisions on production methods.

The second need was met by the denunciation of all forms of State control of economic planning as methods of coercion that violated liberty. Under the heading of *Zentralverwaltungswirtschaft* (centralised administration of the economy) was contained the socialist ideal of a planned economy and the fascist military economy.

Since this and a *freie Verkehrswirtschaft* (free economy) were considered to be identical in form, the free market economy could be looked upon as a liberal alternative to both and at the same time could be regarded as anti-socialist, anti-fascist and anti-capitalist.

This appearance, which went solely on matters of form and concentrated entirely on means of organisation took no account of the crux of the matter, the division of property and wealth. This was at the basis of the theory of totalitarianism, which, during the Cold War, was used as a particularly powerful

weapon in the ideological battle.

Thus behind the veil of mist the neo-liberal ideology created and which was backed up to the hilt by the employers' associations it was possible to complete the re-establishment of the capitalist position of power untrammelled.

Those who depended on their wage-packet for their survival were persuaded that the "social free market economy" would guarantee prosperity for all, the heads of small and medium-sized concerns were won over by the argument that monopolies would be broken and the larger concerns used the neo-liberal patier to help them break free from the chains of the allied occupying powers immediately after the War. Later the neo-liberal argument was also useful for them, since it helped them check the might of the unions which were denounced as being too powerful, too centralised and therefore a danger for liberty.

The fact that these policies were successful depended largely on the keenness of the United States to shut out the influence of the Soviet Union as far as possible. America gave its wholehearted backing to the restoration of capitalism.

Neo-liberalism was thrown out of the window as soon as monopolies had been restored and capitalism was back in force. Finally the period of reconstruction came to an end and the recession of 1966-1967 made it clear that the economy could not survive in the Federal Republic, too, unless there was some State control. The economic policies of the neo-liberal Ludwig Erhard had had their day.

There were replaced by the Keynesian course embodied by Professor Karl Schiller. There was thus no longer any danger that the limited planning that this new direction involved could turn out in favour of those who live from the weekly pay-packet, or the monthly salary.

Defamation of the ideas of planning and economic directives from the government as a danger to freedom and prosperity and at base Bolshevik tactics, which had been the attitude of the politically-minded public until the beginning of the sixties, could now be given up. Not only were State-dictated fiscal measures, but also expansion of larger economic units at the expense of smaller ones, now said to be sensible and necessary.

Of the neo-liberal ideas there were just one or two relics hidden away in various university departments and in party propaganda.

The political relevance of neo-liberal ideas has ceased to exist.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 December 1970)

## Despite waning boom wage claims have been met

their stride and battle out an industrial campaign tooth and nail.

Employers' associations in the metalworking industries already have experience of strikes. In 1963 they brought their big guns into action and applied a lock-out.

When the demands came for higher wages in the metal industry last year the employers at first took a hard line again in north Baden and north Württemberg.

Only at the last minute did they accede to the suggestion of the Federal state government that it was essential to find a peaceful solution to this industrial dispute. This was achieved by increasing wages in the industry by 12.2 per cent and other measures in favour of their workers.

This meant that the upper limit aimed at by the general association of employers

in the metal industries, ten per cent, was exceeded by 2.2 per cent.

When employers in the metalworking industries are asked at their Stuttgart headquarters why they finally accepted wage increases which were considered "intolerable" right from the very start the answer is: We wanted to avoid a labour dispute in this late phase and if we had stuck out even at the expense of a short strike we would probably have been worse off, and not in a better position.

As far as employers are concerned industrial campaigns seem for the most part to have lost their value as a corrective measure.

What is the reaction of the trade unions to this new attitude? For them a strike is, as always, a valuable instrument for applying their will and seeing that their intentions are heeded. But on the workers' part as well there are always some points to be considered coolly at the eleventh hour.

The chairman of the metalworkers trade union, Otto Brenner, said in an interview published in *Welt der Arbeit*

Continued on page 13

## ■ AUTOMOBILES

## Electronic braking device developed by Daimler-Benz



Tricky situations that develop when a driver brakes incorrectly or at the wrong moment will soon be a thing of the past. Daimler-Benz and Teldix have unveiled the first fully developed electronic anti-locking system for all four wheels. It will be available in standard models from next autumn.

Dr Hans Scherenberg, technical director of Daimler-Benz, who have been responsible for roughly half the research and development work on the new system, noted that his firm is prepared, in the interest of road safety, to put the system at the disposal of all motor manufacturers.

Two test vehicles drive at high speed into a bend. Both drivers slam the anchors on but only one car reacts as it might reasonably be expected to and skids straight on and through what would normally be a crash barrier, ditch or wall on the other side of the road.

Had this happened on a normal road a serious accident could hardly have failed to occur. The second car stays on course and grinds to a halt without either skidding or the driver having to steer like a madman.

After this impressive demonstration of the anti-lock system in action, not to mention a series of measured laps that proved that not even the most experienced test driver can outwit the electronics in braking, the writer was himself allowed to try out this amazing device in all manner of conditions.

No matter what braking error is made

the car is not taken out of its stride. Braking during cornering is as unproblematic as slamming the anchors on a slippery or variable surface — all occasions that as a rule lead to accidents.

In the process the test vehicle comes to a halt in the shortest distance possible in the circumstances. At the wheel of a car fitted with the anti-lock device even a beginner is more than a match for the most experienced rally driver when it comes to braking in a tricky situation.

A number of measurements taken on the Mercedes proving ground bear this out. On a wet cement road surface a car travelling at 130 kilometres an hour (a little over eighty mph) was emergency-braked. The wheels locked and the car skidded to an uncontrollable halt in 139 metres (152 yards).

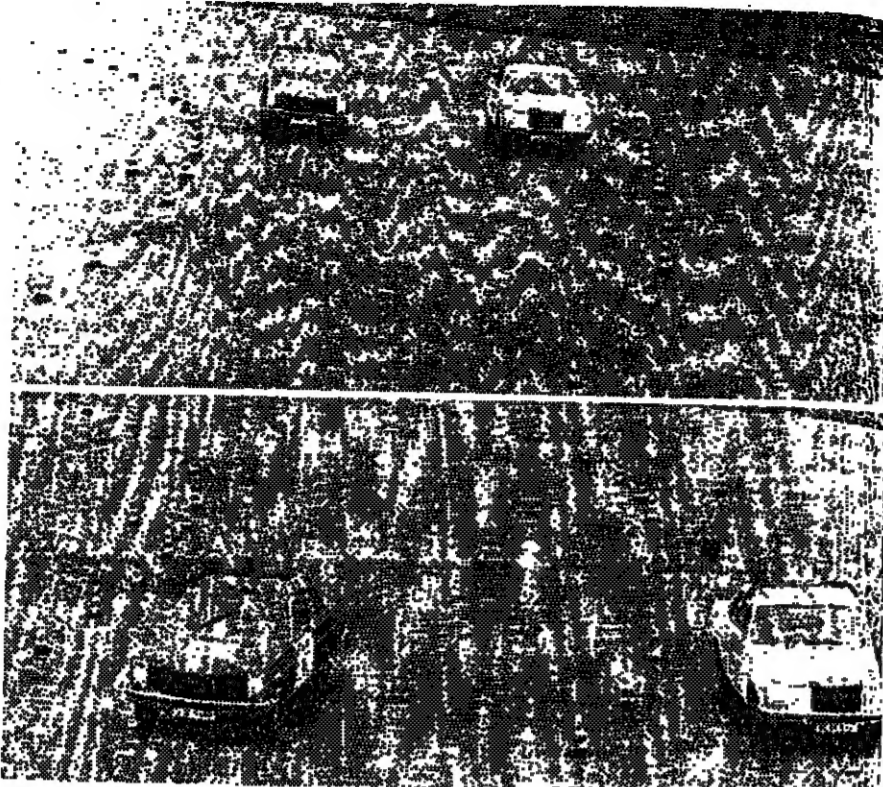
An experienced driver proved unable to shorten the braking-distance but managed to retain a degree of control over the vehicle by relaxing foot pressure on the brake at very short intervals.

Using the electronic device the braking-distance was exactly 96.1 metres (105 yards) and the driver had full control over the steering all the time.

A normal car would have crashed into an obstacle the anti-lock test vehicle would have just pulled up in time to avoid at a speed of seventy kilometres an hour (forty mph) and the driver and passengers would have gone to a certain death.

The idea of automatic brake regulation is nothing new, which is hardly surprising in view of the risks braking can involve. Daimler-Benz started work on the idea ten years ago. Cooperation with Teldix (Telefunken and Bendix) began in 1966.

Other electronics firms in Europe and



the United States are also engaged in work of a similar kind, but more straightforward solutions involving, say, regulation of the rear axle seem not to work in practice.

The anti-lock system, unveiled at Daimler-Benz's Untertürkheim, Stuttgart, headquarters, uses sensors on all four wheels.

If a wheel starts to lock the sensor registers the fall in speed of wheel rotation and conveys the information to an electronic mechanism that, after taking further data into account, works the brake fluid pressure valve in such a way that pressure is reduced accordingly.

The wheel turns faster, the sensor indicates that more brake pressure could be applied and the whole procedure goes on separately for all four wheels each wheel is subjected to the exact amount of brake pressure to combine maximum braking and maximum road-holding.

Still from a film taken in Mercedes, one fitted with the electronic braking device, coming to sudden halt on a bend. The vehicle, with a white patch on the door, held its position on the road.

(Photos: Daimler-Benz)

When the anti-lock device starts to operate the car and brake pedal starts to shudder slightly. Since the device is springs into action when there is a danger of the wheels locking (on a dry road only when the anchors are slammed full on) this can hardly be regarded as a disadvantage.

During normal, gentle braking manoeuvres of the kind motorists will generally prefer unless it is really a matter of life or death the electronic device does its function and the car comes to a smooth halt as the driver can normally manage.

When the need arises, though, the brake can be regulated up to fifteen times a second and respond within thousandths of a second. Should the mechanism be defective in any way the brakes still work as they normally would.

The price is still horrific, however. For the time being, until, that is, long runs as manufactured and other manufacturers adopt the system, anti-lock will cost 1,500 Marks in a new car specially equipped for it and a good deal more to incorporate in an old vehicle.

What is more, anti-lock will not be fully effective as a safety factor until it is almost all vehicles on the road are fitted with it.

Anti-lock can also be fitted to lorries and buses, but has yet to be perfected. It test runs by two buses at the proving ground the anti-lock device worked well in combination with hydraulic brakes but the bus with air brakes shook badly when it started to function.

Buses and lorries present a particular problem because there is such a difference between their laden and unladen weights. But work is being carried on at high speed since the gain in safety is especially important when a bus is full of passengers.

A measured trial gives some indication of the progress that has already been made. A bus that carried out an emergency braking manoeuvre at a speed of eighty kilometres an hour came to a halt in 76 metres. Fitted with anti-lock it pulled up in 43 metres.

Had the first bus crashed into an obstacle the second had just managed to avoid it would have done so at a speed of 52.8 kilometres an hour, or a little over thirty miles per hour.

Good vision, when all is said and done, is indispensable.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 December 1970)

## ■ MOTORING

## Used with caution spikes can increase safety on winter roads

Snow and slush are far from being the most treacherous conditions motorists encounter in the winter. Black ice and packed snow are the real menaces. They can occur from one moment to the next and make very high demands on a driver's reactions.

Drivers who do not concentrate on the road, pumping their feet up and down on clutch, brake and accelerator instead, will soon see the road all right, but from another angle.

It will have been relatively harmless if all he does is land in the ditch but could be a good deal more dangerous if he collides with another vehicle after having lost control of his own.

Since tyres represent the direct link between the motor vehicle and the road surface, transmitting the acceleration and centrifugal and other forces that develop as a result of propulsion, braking and negotiating bends, thought was given as

## Waning boom

Continued from page 11

that his union's wage claim did not amount to an ultimatum.

Years of experience have shown that negotiations are regarded as having reached a satisfactory conclusion if three fourths of what has been demanded is in fact granted.

Another indication was given by the IG Metall chairman when he said that it should be generally realised that ministers have a justified interest in avoiding industrial disputes in the regions for which they are responsible. From their point of view it would be irresponsible to stand by and watch an industrial dispute develop after a period of arbitration.

The two sides involved in collective bargaining can go so far before accepting the invitation of political mediators.

This is just the way it has been. In a perfected system of mediation the strike becomes an almost totally avoidable occurrence.

Back in the twenties employers on occasions bled the unions dry with the aid of lock-outs and protracted industrial campaigns. Today such an action is unthinkable.

The State has given up its position as a mere spectator. Both sides of industry are now well aware that a forest fire can be very destructive if the fire brigade just stands watching, and nobody wants that to happen.

Today's different position with regard to employers' associations and trade unions does not automatically lead to results in negotiations on wages and working conditions that are desirable and reasonable for the national economy.

Decisions taken within trade unions before they go to the conference table to discuss new wage agreements are becoming more and more important. The demands they make cannot be the result of a more or less sharp game of poker. They too must take into account the state of the national economy as much as the company's investment resources and the situation of the employees.

Solving this problem to everyone's satisfaction is no easy matter. Only unions run responsibly on modern lines can tackle the problem successfully.

Just as necessary, however, are employers who are able to gauge the state of the market and their company's potential accurately.

(WELT, 11 December 1970)



long ago as the turn of the century to ways and means of boosting the grip-friction coefficient.

On a good dry road it amounts to eighty to ninety per cent of what is in theory possible. On an icy road the percentage can fall to less than ten!

Even with spikes a motorist must restrain his temperament in winter but thinking drivers and drivers who reduce speed and utilise the additional road-holding that spikes can provide are safest.

Spikes must be fitted on all four wheels though. Tests have shown that cars with spikes fitted only on the rear wheels tend to understeer while those with spikes on the front wheels only tend to oversteer.

As a matter of principle the tyre pressure should be set at 0.2 atmospheres (approximately 2 pounds per square inch) more than usual so as to prevent undue wear and increase road-holding.

As the studs invariably protrude slightly from the tread the roll resistance is slightly greater and so is the fuel consumption. They are not very noisy, though. All that can be heard from the tyres is a light, metallic singing noise.

The trouble with spikes is that greater safety in front is paid for in terms of greater danger from behind. A car without spikes may well not be able to stop in the same time and so collide with the back of one's own car.

This is why keeping your distance is even more important in winter than it is in summer. The main advantages of spikes are improved road-holding on bends, greater certainty that the wheels will not just spin when you drive off and shorter braking-distances when you are forced to stop.

Salted roads are doubtless splendid. Salt melts away ice and snow. It also encourages corrosion and shortens a car's life-span. It cannot be spread everywhere, though, and local authorities tend to restrict themselves to clearing main roads.

This is all there is to be said on the subject, even though roadmen may maintain that it is the best means of keeping roads snow- and ice-free.

Early in December management, ad-men and politicians met in Munich to discuss car advertisements. "Car ads," Bavarian Interior Minister Merk commented, "are wrong in suggesting that a few more horse power make the driver a superman."

In this country alone eight manufacturers producing a range of 130 models compete for a market that eighty imported models are also eager to slice into.

Horst Wendt, advertising director of Daimler-Benz, did not deny that competition is frequently fierce. But, he said, "the (motor) industry is under no obligation to set the country an example. It merely makes and sells the cars people want."

In the family saloon category, he noted, there just happens to be a trend towards faster, more sporting cars. It was not his fault that people in this country see "sporting" in terms of competing and winning rather than as fair play.

Yet it is a proven fact that the would-be sportsmen who bite soonest at advertising consisting of sun-tanned gritty he-men at the wheel are also the ones who cause the most accidents.

Sand and grit are also good but do not do much to boost road-holding and are quickly brushed aside by traffic. Anti-corrosive additives are not only most expensive but also make the salt thaw less efficiently.

In the days when there were no winter radials with spikes the tyre industry used to recommend motorists to drive no faster than 130 (a little over eighty miles an hour) on dry roads.

Nearly all conventional spikes consist of a steel or brass mantle surrounding a hard metal core. They are designed to wear down at the same speed as the tyre rubber.

Tests have shown that at speeds of 130 kilometres an hour the spikes reach temperatures of 100 degrees centigrade. The moment the temperature exceeds 100 the surrounding rubber starts to melt and the spike works loose and parts company with the tyre.

In other words, spikes are almost invariably lost through overheating.

In order to lessen heat conductivity and improve the durability of spikes in car tyres hard metal studs in a plastic mantle appear to be on the way in with a vengeance.

They stay more firmly in the tyre, run more quietly and evidently do not damage the road surface as much as conventional spikes. But as yet they are only a trend.

There can be no denying that spikes make their mark on dry roads during acceleration and braking. In the circumstances motorists should be prepared to exercise self-discipline and drive sensibly with spikes.

If they fail to do so, however, there will be no alternative but either drastically reduce the period of time during which their use is permitted or to ban them altogether.

It is not true to say that a minority of motorists, spikes-owners, are damaging the roads at the expense of the majority. Last year seventy per cent of all winter tyres sold were spikes.

This is a sure sign of a growing desire for safety. Everyone would like to return home the way he left it: healthy and unmaimed.

(Handelsblatt, 3 December 1970)

## Misleading car ads

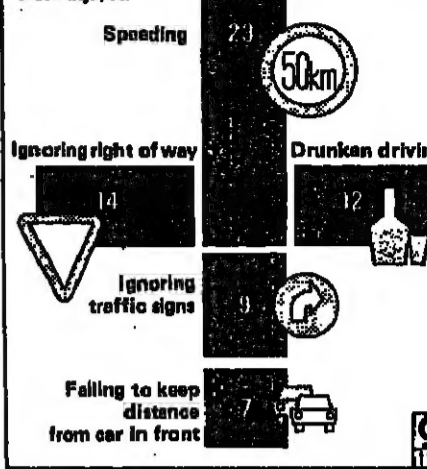
Dr Gerhard Munsch, a psychologist attached to Munich Technical Supervision Association, the independent body responsible for conducting two-year roadworthiness tests on motor vehicles, commented that one driver in three with relatively little experience (less than 40,000 miles) impulsively tended towards fast cars.

Arant beginners could not care less about speed but after 40,000 miles only one driver in ten is still indifferent to mph. "Germans tend towards fast cars when they can't handle them," he concluded.

Dr Munsch does not consider the emphasis on speed in car advertising alarming in itself, for all that. He merely feels it is superfluous.

This is not what the politicians think, though. "This kind of advertising is an enticement to commit murder," Minister Merk proclaimed.

THE FIVE DEADLY SINS OF D.  
The causes of accidents during 1969 in percentages of those accidents in which people were injured



## Traffic fines do not deter traffic offenders

The considerable increase in the number of traffic accidents caused by drunken drivers makes a rethink necessary. In 1969 roughly one fatal accident in four on the roads was due to driving under the influence.

This quotation from the recently published Federal government report on transport makes it clear how urgent the need to do something about drinking and driving is.

At a conference on the subject held by the Federal Republic Road Safety Council fourteen doctors and lawyers drew up a ten-point programme that bears witness to careful consideration of all aspects involved.

They decided in favour of introducing eighty milligrammes as the level at which a driver is considered to be driving under the influence of drink because they felt it was a level at which people were still at liberty to drink a glass or two but for the most part remain well able to handle a motor vehicle.

Motorists who drive with a higher level of alcohol in the blood ought, the panel unanimously agreed, to be subject to severe punishment.

At the same time the experts well realised that stiffer penalties are not enough. What was needed, they decided, was a new image of the motorist — a man, as Professor Karl Luff of Frankfurt put it, "who realises that the effect of alcohol — even moderate or small amounts drunk by himself — cannot be reconciled with the control of the faculties needed to drive in traffic."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 December 1970)

"It runs counter to the declared aims of road safety" and "mobilities power complexes" was the considered opinion of Ernst Müller-Hermann, Christian Democratic transport specialist and Bundestag member for Bremen.

"Advertising rally wins is misleading if the buyer then believes he is buying the car that won the rally," Bundestag deputy Fellemaier of Neu-Ulm pointed out.

"The industry manufactures what the public want," Dr Johann Heinrich von Brunn, president of the Motor Manufacturers' Association, countered. Advertising exercises no influence on the motorist whatsoever.

Why, then, are millions spent on it, he was asked. Dr von Brunn was at a loss for an answer.

Dr Munsch saw only one solution to the problem of increasing speed at the wrong stage. The poor performance of inexperienced motorists can only be improved by not granting beginners a full driving licence and making them keep on learning to graduate to the real thing.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 4 December 1970)

